1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

776 782 rests with the eldest male of the founding lineage of the village, but the whole community usually assists. There may be two guardian spirits in a village, one at the head and one at the tail of the community.

754 Witchcraft, poisoning, magical curses, oaths, and ordeals are all present in Atimelang religion, but are undeveloped or unstressed.

778 613 782 769 Sacred hearths of various types (*ara foka, wa ara, mani ara, je ara, kuya ara*) belong to lineages and are kept in the lineage house when it exists. They are simply four pieces of wood like those that form the frame of the ordinary household hearths. The sacred hearths should be fed once a year. As food is offered the hearth, the lineage ancestors, in so far as they are known, are named. The sacrifices are usually made in February or March when the new corn crop is about to be harvested. The owner of the hearth should abstain from a varying series [262] of foods prior to the sacrifice.

796 At the season when the hearths are being fed, there are also four minor village ceremonies whose general function is to assure plentiful crops. They are given in the course of two months, February and March, and are in order of performance: Hopuina (spit on it), Yetok (water pours), Bol (strike), and Ading (also called Kuya, both of which are untranslatable). Responsibilities for certain duties in these ceremonies descend in the male line.

784 Connected with some of these ceremonies and with the feeding of certain hearths are quiet, or taboo (*si*), periods, during which vigorous work, shouting, and quarreling may not take place. Any breach requires [688] a gift to the owner of the ceremony by way of atonement. Usually these taboo periods last only one day but the most important of them lasts four days and comes at the end of the dry season just before the men of the Five Villages set out for the one communal hunt of the year. During the 224 hunt, which is primarily for wild pig, large grass fires are set. Men stay at special hunting camps on the edge of uncultivated grasslands while the women remain quietly at leisure in the home village.

769 782 There are also more or less elaborate garden sacrifices to the souls of former cultivators of the site. If the site is a new one, sacrifices are made to the *genius loci*, which has been disturbed. The number and size of the sacrifices depend on whether the garden (*uti*) is a small one frequently used and planted to corn, or a large field (*pining*) at some distance from the village and usually reserved for rice.

765 Death feasts, although largely financial and closely allied with prestige, may also be considered part of the religious ritual, since their ultimate objective is to dismiss the souls of the dead from the vicinity of the village. During the first ten days after death a series of obligations

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

place, the wielder of the pole begins switching the bundle rapidly back and forth as he circles the dance place six times. He is surrounded by the buyers, who try to beat the head bundle as it flicks back and forth. At the end of the sixth round the buyers seize the pole and bundle, rush to the village edge, and toss the bundle off into the bush, where no further attention is paid to it. Now the dead kinsman has a "spouse" (i.e., the fellow victim) and will not return to make trouble for his living kin. The thrashing given the head bundle is supposed to kill the spirit of the spouse so that it too will no longer be a menace.

The final ceremonial gesture is the mock feeding of the buyers. They stand in a row on their dance place and a piece of rice cone is offered them. They pretend to take a bite, but actually the rice is rapidly passed over their shoulders to children standing behind each buyer, who run off and eat it secretly. This appeases the dead kinsman. The same procedure is repeated by the sellers on the village boundary. This appeases the spouse of the dead kin.

It is consistent with the picture drawn so far of food and finance that the malignancy even of souls cannot be fully appeased until gestures of this sort are made. The cost of such appeasement must act to curtail excessive head-hunting. The financial costliness of placating the dead is true also for the ordinary death feasts and for the spirit-bird ceremonies that replace the death feast series in cases of violent deaths. This latter type of ceremony parallels in form that just described for a human head. There are three or four species of small birds which, when killed and dried, may be sold as spouses for those dead from accident or from dysentery, leprosy, or smallpox. It is important in terms of local values that even though a man has caught a spirit bird he may not use it to appease his own dead kin, but must buy one from some other set of six captors.

An instance of nice adjustment occurred when the Dutch put an end to head-hunting. Spirit-bird ceremonies were substituted for head ceremonies where vengeance had not yet been secured, so that the soul of the murdered man could be appeased. The Alorese were caught by cultural changes between the fear of their dead kin and the living Dutch. Fortunately they had at hand a ceremonial device they could, and were willing to, substitute in order to avoid this dilemma. If this device had not been available it is possible that the natives would have feared their dead more than the Dutch garrison and that head-hunting would not have ended so quickly and easily. As it was, the solution was probably as much of a relief to the natives as it was to the government.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

4-26 765 (*bafik*), terms also applied to heavy loads, such as house posts. The difficulty of calling in reserves is further illustrated by the uncertainty surrounding the date set for a feast. The case of the tumukun's payoff death feast will show just how harassing such a situation can be.

The tumukun must have been pondering the event of a death feast for some weeks, but the first indication I had of his plans for it was on March 23, when a group of women gathered to hull rice. The next day [787] he divined to discover the proper date, and the result of this divination set April 4 as the day of the feast. When April 4 arrived it was obvious that no feast was under way. I asked what had happened and was told there had been a two-day delay in order to give guests time to arrive. On April 14 the tumukun again divined for a propitious date, and the day was set for April 26. That night and the next day he had satellites [811 202] deliver thirty-nine invitations in the form of "memo tallies" to inform his debtors that gongs and mokos were to begin arriving as early as April 22. These memo tallies are strips of coconut leaves in one end of which a flat knot is tied; the other end is slit as many times as there are days before the feast. The guest is supposed to tear off one tab a day.

[789] Meanwhile the tumukun had been making gong- and moko-bringing magic every evening and morning. Since all these activities were quite open, no one could have been ignorant of his plans. April 26 came and went, however, but no guests arrived. The tumukun was very much ashamed and, characteristically, very angry. He complained to me of the situation when I was indiscreet enough to inquire about the cause of the delay, and he blusteringly threatened to carry litigations against his debtors to the radjah himself. He began once more a round of visits to his debtors scattered through about ten villages to berate them for their recalcitrance. I asked a neutral person if people were angry with the tumukun and was told that they were not, that such delays were customary.

On July 13 the tumukun again began morning and evening to beat gongs and mokos in order to draw in his wealth. A few dowry payments arrived during the last days of July. On July 28 he went to fetch the soul of his father-in-law, in whose honor the death feast was to be. [769] The father-in-law had been buried in the old Alurkowati village site twenty years before, and his soul had to be brought to the dance place in Atimelang, where his feast was to be given. The tumukun took this opportunity to berate his father-in-law's soul for its inactivity in spurring debtors to make payments. The souls of those who are to be hon-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

556 my affinal kin and I shall give you this pig.' So his lineal kin would pay
426 his bride-price for him."

183 In discussing this conversation later, Fantan remarked, "Yes, a man here says he is rich, but all he does is to go around and cheat people. He pulls in their gongs and mokos and promises to pay for them when other debts of his are settled, but he only deceives us. People thought my kinsman Lanmani was poor because he did not have a lot of outstanding debts."

556 Supporting this type of personal expression of dissatisfaction and
782 difficulty with financial affairs is another more formalized expression. Any large accumulation of gongs and mokos, such as the one described for the tumukun's feast, is considered dangerous. Young children are chased away from it, and adults must be protected by throwing away one of the pieces of smaller value to the wealth-bringing spirits. The piece is tossed by the owner into the brush, where boys and young men fight for it. This is another permitted opportunity for aggression in relation to wealth. Should this precaution or some similar magical one
[753] be omitted, the owner of the wealth will fall sick and die within a day.

The danger associated with excessive wealth is present also when a rice crop is unusually large, when a carabao is slaughtered, or when many wild pigs have been shot on the communal hunt at the end of the dry season. Again, illness can be avoided only by throwing away a small
● [769] part as a sacrifice, the essence of which goes to personal or ancestral spirits who may be offended, and the substance of which is fought over by the younger and less dignified males.

CONCLUSIONS

556 Obviously from the foregoing, status depends primarily on wealth,
156 but neither of these is any more secure or confidence-inspiring for the individual than were his human relationships in childhood. Status and finance on the institutional side reflect and reinforce the uncertainties involved in trusting other people; yet certain aspects of the culture reveal the need for their good will. Just as there are many positive factors in child training, so also on the institutional side there are a variety of constructive aspects within the total framework. There are the many
152 recognized avenues for expressing and draining off the very hostilities
586 engendered by the culture that tend both expressively and repressively to maintain social cohesiveness. There is always the hope and the search for desired goals, whether the goal be the nurturing mother-provider or the status-wealth hyphenation. There are always devices for forging through to such goals if one is a sufficiently self-contained and ruthless

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

I suppose that it would be very difficult to eradicate sacrifice as long as its symbolic content can be so high. Any institution that may be invested with high emotional value because of patterns of child training is not one which can be lightly legislated out of existence. The implications of such relationships bear not only on the problems of the diffusion of culture and the persistence of traits, but also on applied anthropology as it is envisaged by enlightened colonial administrators. Head-hunting could be stopped almost overnight (page 131) because child training had been toward deflecting hostility into wealth manipulations rather than physical violence. Physical violence broke out only when finance failed to ease strain in interpersonal relationships. There were in addition substitutive devices at hand. Trying to eliminate sacrifice would, however, be a very different matter, and, in fact, there has been singularly little headway made by missionaries in that direction. Furthermore, Christianity with its magnification of the parental image may have failed to make inroads because paths leading in that direction had not been worn deep in the personality of the Atimelang child.

THE HEREAFTER

These speculations upon the emotional content and significance of institutions were precipitated by a discussion of the feasts necessary for the final dismissal of ghosts from the village boundary. It is really at this point that significant interest in the dead stops. Perhaps this correlates with the Atimelanger's poor memory for genealogies. When the dead are no longer potential sources of danger and when they are no longer being named in connection with sacrifices, they are lost from memory. What happens to this second soul no one could tell me; whether it rejoins the other soul in the village of the dead, below or above, no one seemed to know. In addition, there is another place where the dead are supposed to go and to live underground. This is a low, uninhabitable coral island, called Hamintuku in the Abui language, which is off the northwest point of Benlelang Bay. It is quite obvious from all this uncertain and fragmentary material that the Atimelangers are not interested in structuralizing any of these vague and contradictory speculations. There may be a rare individual who is concerned with such matters, but, if so, I failed to discover him, and he would in any case be aberrant in that respect. Again, this reinforces the argument that the Atimelangers are not concerned with speculative constructs or the nonmanifest. Even the village of the dead seems to be no more than a reflection of earthly life. It is called Sahiek, or Sehiek, and is presided over by a figure named Karfehawa (literally, Kar-pig-jaw). The location of Sahiek and the identity of Karfehawa were completely nebulous to most informants. Rilpada came nearest to giving a coherent account.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

has a strong awareness of the power of other people's envy. Hence the 556
giving of a feast, by satisfying their oral appetites, diminishes the envy 574
It is this remedy which tells us the origin of the whole insecurity feel- 578
ing. The remedy serves as an antidote to the envy of others, which the
wealthy person fears. This probably is also the source of the necessity for 578
evening things up—a compulsive trait probably derived from the ne- 426
cessity of sharing with hungry siblings. In actual practice the whole
prestige economy in Alor is one in which the currencies are so dis-
tributed that continual "squeeze" can be applied through financial
obligations.

The uses of this financial system are largely to channelize the enor- 155
mous amount of intrasocial hostility, and it takes much of the brunt off
all the other methods. The fear of exercising overt aggression in the
form of striking, killing, or even using magic is likewise traceable to
the faulty ego development in childhood. It is an error to regard ag-
gression purely as a form of reaction to frustration. In order to react
to frustration with aggression a high degree of effective organization
is necessary. In the Alorese child this organization fails to take place.
It is to be remembered that the tantrum is the expression par excellence
of the childhood frustration, and this is characterized chiefly by its lack
of organization. It is, so to speak, a spinal discharge and not one di-
rected by the higher centers. As was noted before in the discussion of
the relations of men toward women, the inability to be aggressive to-
ward an object that injures you must lead eventually not only to a fear
of the object but also to an inner feeling of paralysis. The control over
aggression is certainly not due to any superego interference. It is due
purely to an ego defect; they do not know how to organize their ag-
gression. In other words, the fact that overt aggression so rarely appears
in this society is merely a late consequence of a situation that began in
childhood and which there showed itself in the hopeless futility of get-
ting any response by this method. Even verbal aggressions, which are
given limited scope, are by no means employed by everyone. Unre-
strained aggression becomes a form of expression only in the insane and
in some of the jealous quarrels among women.

RELIGION AND PERSONALITY

What is distinctive about Alorese ideas and techniques for dealing 776
with the supernatural is their negative features. There is no elabora-
tion of either a supreme being or of a culture hero in their mythology.

In their practical religion there is the general framework of a family 769
cult, which, however, lacks precision. The dead are not to be placated

l:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

769 by suffering and renunciation, nor is there any attempt at restitution through penance in order to be reinstated into the good graces of the spirits. Good things are not asked of them, but rather the absence of bad things; that is, the Alorese do not pray for bounty but they do ask for relief from illness. The ancestors are angered if they are not fed. They will perform some wicked act against the neglectful individual, that is, they will cause an abortion or they will annoy a child. There is, in other words, no beneficent inflation of the parental imago, due to the poor frustration-reward balance in this society. So slight is the tendency to idealize the parental imago that effigies are made in the most careless and slipshod manner, are used in the most perfunctory way, and are forthwith discarded. There is little emphasis on giving the spirits permanent housing or idealized form.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

Sahiek [the village of the dead]; that is why they did not offer me food. If I had eaten there, I probably would have died. [Meaning of the descent into the house?] When I get wounds I'll be dizzy and unconscious; my soul will want to get up to heaven from Sahiek, but people will call me back and I shan't die. [No ladder?] This house is probably one of those in which people who died a violent death stay. They have probably had their heads or their spirit birds paid for; so they are shutting themselves in and are not wandering any more. [That is, special ceremonies have been given to placate their souls, and they are no longer malignant ghosts.]

[At this point I tried to get away from the conventional dream interpretation by using word associations. The informant did not seem to grasp the idea and insisted on long repetitions of the dream. The associations were as follows: *ladder*—top of waterfall, the place where a slain person is taken to be decapitated before head feasts are given; *mango tree*—person who has met violent death, or death from a particularly dreaded disease like smallpox; *empty house*—same as ladder; *closed door*—the dead man's door; *areca nut*—a wound; *betel*—a wound; *rat*—came down from the sky, referring to the fact that shooting stars are thought to turn into mice when they strike the earth.]

I dreamed again. I and Kolang cut bark for loincloths. We pounded it but could not make it soft, so we threw it away. I went for more. I saw Fuimai cutting down another tree for bark cloth. When I asked her for some, she said there was not much; there was only that one tree. But in her hands she had many pieces. Fuimai took the bark off the tree and put it in her basket. I woke up.

[Meaning?] Had I not thrown the bark away, the dream would mean that I would commit adultery. Fuimai did not throw away the bark; so that means she will commit adultery. [Fuimai was suspected in the village of sleeping with her young unmarried brother-in-law. Her husband was rarely at home.]

When I was small, my father cleared a big garden. Father carried me between his body and the arrows thrust into his belt. He took me thus to the garden feast. That evening when we came back he carried me in the same way. I cried when father left, but he said, "You stay here in the village; it is wartime." However, I continued to cry, so he carried me in this way. Mother too told me to stay home, but I just cried. That evening when we returned to the house, we ate the meat and rice baskets of the feast. The next day we all went to plant Mailang's rice field. I cried again and followed mother and father, so my